settlements on the east bank and along the lower reaches of the Sobat. Their country is treeless savannah but, unlike their cousins the Nuer and Dinka, they are predominantly agricultural and sedentary, for their long river frontage gives them adequate water and grazing in the dry season for the comparatively few cattle (about 25,000) they possess.[1] The brief account I give of their social structure is mostly derived from articles in *Sudan Notes and Records* by Mr Pumphrey and Mr Howell.[2]

The hamlets (*myer*, sing. *pac*), built from 100 yards to a mile or so apart on high ground parallel to the river, vary in size from one to fifty homesteads; a homestead (*gol*), the residence of a family (*gol*), consisting usually of two huts encircled by a fence. Each hamlet is occupied by members of an extended family, or small lineage, with their wives, and the homesteads of this group are arranged in a rough horseshoe shape around a common cattle-byre, which shelters the animals in the rains and is used as a club at all seasons, and a common kraal. The headman of a hamlet (*jal dwong pac*) who is also the head of a lineage in

[1] I am indebted to Mr John Donald of the Sudan Political Service for the most recent figures of human and bovine population.

[2] M. E. C. Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N. and R.* (1941); P. P. Howell, 'The Shilluk Settlement', *ibid.* (1941).

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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174 the Shilluk nation. As Nyakang passed northwards along the river
171 he incorporated the inhabitants; moreover, he had magic, and so where men were lacking he turned hippopotami and other animals into human form to become his subjects.[1]

174 The Shilluk, though generally tall and long-headed, seem to us
142 to vary more among themselves than any of the riverain tribes of which we have first-hand knowledge, for while the subject (No. 1) figured on Pl. III may be taken to represent an average Shilluk youth (style of head-dress now unfashionable), a long-faced, straight-nosed and thin-lipped type, as shown in its extreme form in No. 3 is by no means uncommon, as also the handsome if somewhat fierce type shown in No. 3; there is, too, a rare, exaggeratedly negroid, type (No. 4), but this can hardly be accepted as truly Shilluk without prolonged genealogical research. Such wide variation can be best
174 explained by assuming that Nyakang and his followers represented
142 a stock carrying more Hamitic blood than the inhabitants of the
144 riverain villages and other stocks who united with them, and we have no doubt that so far as the Nilotes are concerned even at the present day the maximum of Hamitic blood is to be found among the Shilluk, who, with the exception of the Azande, are the best organized people in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and who of all the black tribes offered the most determined opposition to the Khalifa and his followers.

• 233 The wealth and social position of the Shilluk are estimated in
[556] cattle; sheep and goats are kept, but these are not regarded in the same, almost sacred, light as cows. Milking is done by boys and old
[462] men, women not being allowed to milk. In every village there is a number of cattle byres, such as those shown on Pl. V, but except

[1] A number of Westermann's texts (*The Shilluk People*, Phil., 1912) refer to groups of the earlier inhabitants absorbed into the Shilluk nation by Nyakang, including turtle-men (op. cit., p. 169) and some mysterious river people (pp. xlv, 164-5). One of the first stories that the inquirer into the wanderings of Nyikang will hear is that of Olang or Olangi, who allowed himself to be sacrificed in order that Nyikang might pass across a river blocked with vegetation. The tale, given here in Westermann's version (op. cit., p. 165), constitutes a convenient starting-point for inquiries into the route taken by Nyikang:—

"When Nyikang came, he went to the Khor Andil, with his followers; he found the river was shut up by the mold, so that Nyikang did not find a passage. And a certain man who was an albino asked them, 'Nyikang, why do you stop? Is it because you do not find a passage?' He replied, 'Yes, I do not see a way where to pass.' The man said, 'When I have finished eating, I shall come, I will be killed with a spear, my blood will flow into the river, and the mold will break away.' And Nyikang speared the man, his blood flowed into the river, and the mold broke away. Then Nyikang found a passage."

Nothing definite can be said as to the date of Nyakang. Hofmayr (op. cit., 64) thinks that Ocolo, the fifth king of the genealogy, is the first historic king, and dates his reign 1660-75. Presumably this is reached by reckoning backwards; it is a reasonable estimate, giving an average reign of about 13 years, and allowing thirty to a generation.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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when the mosquitoes are really bad the cattle are tied for the night in the open, generally in the centre of the village. Fires of dried cow-dung are kept smouldering all night, and the herdsmen smear themselves with the ashes. In the dry season when the grass gives out the young men and boys drive the cattle long distances to fresh pastures; the Shilluk of the White Nile cross to the eastern bank, those of the Sobat migrate to the lagoons to the south of Sobat.

Fish are speared and trapped, and the hippopotamus, the flesh of which is greatly esteemed, is harpooned. The Shilluk, who are by no means expert trackers, hunt by surrounding an area and spearing the animals as they attempt to escape from the contracting circle, but game procured in this manner plays only a small part in their diet.

The Shilluk are excellent craftsmen. The thatching of the royal shrines and those of Nyakang is perhaps the best in the riverain portion of the Sudan, and this applies equally to their iron work, though they do not extract the metal from the ore but obtain it by trade—formerly from the Dinka, now from the white man. Their spears are the best that we saw in the southern Sudan. There is no special group of smiths, and iron-workers are not despised. They make good but not remarkable pottery. Their dug-out canoes are necessarily small, as the only wood is the *doleib* palm (*Borassus flabellifer*). In the north, where other wood is available in small quantities, the sides of the canoe are commonly heightened by built-on strips; possibly this practice is modern, but it is not absolutely new, as we noted it more than twenty years ago. Besides canoes, the Shilluk make small rafts of ambatch which resemble the reed rafts of the ancient Egyptians.

Regulation of Public Life

The Shilluk king is absolute head—temporal and spiritual—of a state whose territory is divided into a number of provinces, each administered by a chief directly responsible to the sovereign and acting as his proxy. We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for the following account of the areas into which the country is divided. The two main divisions are Lwak and Gor. The former comprises all the country south of and including the capital Fashoda, with its provincial capital Kwom, and here resides one of the great territorial chiefs mentioned

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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to do except hunting, fishing, building or repairing the houses, or practising some craft: their chief occupation in this time is idling about, seeing friends, dancing, etc. But in the rainy season all people, including women and children, are engaged in farm-work; during these months they are really hard-working.

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To give an opinion on the mental abilities of the natives would require a long and intimate acquaintance with them. From my personal experience I can only say that I feel an admiration for the few men who have been working with me during my studies. They were never tired in giving explanations, in procuring folklore and helping me to acquire a thorough knowledge of the language. Whenever their store of tales was exhausted, they used to go to their families in the evening to get new informations; historical reports being provided by old men, chiefly from those belonging to the royal family, while for stories, riddles, etc. women were the best source. Though we were at work day after day, which meant for them a considerable and quite unaccustomed mental exertion, they never showed any unwillingness, but were really interested in the work. I consider them an intelligent, quick-witted people. This is confirmed by their folklore. They have a decided sense and predilection for historical traditions, being the only black people of the Eastern Sudan who are able to trace back their own history for centuries. The fact that they have had, up to the European occupation of the country, a kingdom with a well-ordered provincial government, shows no doubt certain political capabilities.

II. OCCUPATIONS.

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HOUSEBUILDING

Vide page 56 and 57.

The homestead is surrounded by a fence of dura-stalks. The villages are built in a circle, the open space in the centre containing sometimes a meeting-house for the men, and a small, narrow hut which is dedicated to Nyikang or some other ancient king.

AGRICULTURE

Vide page 99.

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[556]

CATTLE-BREEDING

The favourite occupation of the Shilluks is cattle-breeding; cattle mean wealth and a social position, while the cultivation of the ground is merely the means of procuring daily food. Besides cattle goats and sheep are kept. The number of cattle has in earlier times undoubtedly been much larger than it is to-day, the desire of robbing cattle being one of the chief reasons for the raids of Arabs, Turks, and other enemies. The cattle census of 1903 showed 12 173 head of cattle and 63 473 sheep and goats, which is very little compared with that of the Dinkas. But the number of cattle is increasing now.

The cattle are of the zebu race, with a hump behind the neck; they are tall,

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

with rather long legs, a slender body, and large horns. The horns, while young, are dressed into most manifold strange forms, this being the business of a particular craftsman, the "dresser of horns", sometimes in a large herd one sees hardly any cattle with the horns in their natural shape. An illustration of how cattle are cherished and almost regarded as personal beings is the fact that they have about 40 different names for cattle, according to their colour, the configuration or size of the horns, etc. Vide page 107. — Domestic animals are not butchered, except when sick or exceedingly old. Oxen and goats are killed on festal occasions, such as funeral or marriage meals, or as sacrifices to Nyikang and Jwok. Neither do they sell cattle; for a stranger it is practically impossible to purchase a cow or an ox. The price of a cow is about £ 5; an ox is half the value of a cow which has calved; a young heifer has double the value of a cow. — Slaying a cow is done by stabbing it with a spear in the nape, so that the aorta is pierced. The blood is collected and cooked as food.

The cows are milked morning and evening, usually by boys, sometimes also by old men, but not by women, the latter having nothing to do with cattle. The quantity of milk obtained is but poor. A gourd is the usual milk vessel. These are washed with cow-urine, which gives the milk an unpleasant flavour. They also wash their hands in cow-urine; but they do not mix the milk with it, as is the custom with Dinkas and Nuers.

Each village possesses a common cow-shed, but into it the herd is put at night during the rainy season only, when the mosquitoes are very bad. The rest of the year they are kraaled in the open yard, where they are tied with ropes to short pegs driven into the ground. This cattle-court is a semi-circular enclosure; at the entrance to it there is a small circular place built of corn stalks and covered with ashes, in which the young men who watch the herd sleep. A fire of dried cow dung is kept smouldering all night in this place. Sick cattle are penned in the cow-shed during the daytime, to keep them out of the sun and away from food, but not in the night, unless it is the season when all the cattle are housed. Many cattle die every year, from intestinal worms and other diseases. A considerable number of cows are barren.

The cattle are herded by young men and boys. As soon as the dew has dried off the grass, the herd is driven into the pasture. During the dry season, when grass is getting rare, the herds migrate into the lower and swampy parts of the country, where the grass is still flourishing; the Shilluks along the White Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Ischat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Ischat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which is, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not unhangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

weighty ceremonies, in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an important part of the duties of the witch-doctor; *vide* page 170. All the youths and boys over ten years accompany the herds, leaving their homes for several weeks or even months, and enjoying the free life in temporary huts. When after the first rains the new grass springs up, they return home. The struggle for the best pasture grounds very often becomes the cause of bitter quarrels, and has in the past not unfrequently led to tribal wars.

GOATS The Shilluk goats have rather high legs, they almost invariably look thin and not well fed; their colour is mostly grey, but black ones too are not infrequent. The sheep have no wool, but hair. They have a kind of mane on shoulder, neck and breast, the rest of the body being covered with short hair.

SHEEP

FOWLS Most sheep are white, brown-white, or black-white. — A race of small fowls is kept, but the natives do not make much of them; many chickens are stolen by snakes and other small animals. — Dogs are very common, they are a kind of greyhound, of red or yellow colour, and have a black, long snout. They are exceedingly quick in running and most clever in jumping. They overtake gazelles with easiness, and are much used in hunting.

DOGS

HUNTING Hunting is practised by all men occasionally, but is, as a rule, not very successful. They use spears, clubs, and traps in killing or catching animals. Sometimes, chiefly in procuring animals whose skins form part of the revenues of the king, all the people of a village assemble for a hunting match, *vide* page 105; a large circle is formed, and the animals inside it, when wishing to escape, are killed. When an animal is wounded, but runs away, they will persevere it for days, till it breaks down. The skin of a killed leopard belongs to the king, and could, at least formerly, be worn by private only by special permission of the king. A lion's skin is considered as evil, and is not worn.

Hippopotamus hunting is done by combined parties in canoes, harpooning the animal and dispatching him with spears, when he comes to the surface to breathe.

FISHING Their way of fishing is that with the round barbed spear, and with traps, which are made of corn stalks and reed. Fish-spearing is done in muddy water, where they cannot see anything below the surface, and therefore cannot aim. But nevertheless by this rude mode they sometimes have good results, the fish in the White Nile and Sobat being numerous and large. Sometimes they carry on fishing during the night time by holding burning grass-torches over the water, and thus enticing the fish, which are then speared. In recent times nets and fishhooks are brought from the white people, and are employed in fishing.

HAIRDRESSING The Shilluks practise a great number of crafts, which are exercised on an hereditary for generations, the father and mother imparting their skill to their children.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Kinds of white dura.

ɟɔ̀l is very long in ripening. *ábwòk* maize.
mɔ̀r has a longer ear than *ɟɔ̀l*. *rówí* Durra (panic grass).
ámɲɔ̀ɲ "finger", has four ears, which stand upright like the fingers of the hand.

ɟɔ̀-dá, ɔ̀kɔ̀ɲ, ɔ̀ɟárɲɔ̀k, ɔ́ɟyɔ̀t lyɲɔ̀ ("kills the elephant"), *ɔ́tyɔ́ɲ, dɔ́ɔ́l, ɔ́lɔ̀ɔ̀k-mɔ̀ɔ̀k, ɔ́ɔ́mɲɔ̀k, mɔ̀ɲ, ɔ́kɲɔ́ɔ́k, dɔ́ɔ́ɔ̀k, dɔ́wɔ́.*

The stalks of many of the white duras are sucked like sugar cane.

Kinds of red dura.

The common name for red dura is: *lwɔ̀ɲ́*.

ɔ́ɟɔ́ɔ́l, wɔ́ɟɔ̀l-fá-dɔ́mɔ̀, wɔ́ɟɔ̀l-fá-ɔ́ɔ́ɔ̀ɔ̀r, ɔ́ɟɔ́ɔ́ ("the Nubian"?), *ɔ́ɔ́ɟɔ́-ɟɔ́ɔ́-dɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɲ́, ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɟɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɲɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɟɔ́yɔ́ɲ, ɔ́kwɔ́ɔ́, lwɔ́ɔ́* ("of the white man"), *ɔ́kwɲɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɲɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́* ("lion's eye") *wɔ́ɔ́ɲɔ́ɔ́k* ("crow's eye") *wɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɟɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́yɔ́mɔ́-ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɟɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, yɔ́ɟɔ́-ɟɔ́ɲɔ́* ("sheep-tail"), *yɔ́ɟɔ́-lyɔ́ɔ́* ("horse-tail"), *ɔ́lyɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́.*

Agriculture Among The Shullas.[1]

By R. W. Tidrick, of Doleib Hill.

The Shullas have hardly begun their agricultural life. Scarcely one half century ago they were purely a pastoral people. Only within the last decades has his bride-ship, the Shulla man, begun to assume the burden of providing for his family. In those earlier days the task of tilling the small patch of ground planted annually in dura fell to the woman. Her hoe was made from the shoulder blade of a giraffe or buffalo, or sometimes from the shin or rib bones of these animals.

Boys tended the large herds and flocks, young warriors danced, went on the chase and raid. The old men idled their time away in the village.

But they say the cattle plagues became more prevalent. The Turk and Arab came and took away not only slaves, but cattle, and so necessity forced the Shulla to a larger tillage of the ground.

The change came naturally first in the northern end of their territory, where they came earliest in contact with the murderers and plunderers from down the Nile.

One Shulla, whose grandfather used to tell stories of the people in his boyhood days, said: "We used to eat grass like cattle". There was so much truth as sarcasm in this statement. For even yet when the crop fails, the Shulla women gather grass seed from the swamps and plains. They rob the ants of their winter's provision of seeds. A little sugar is obtained by bruising and boiling a certain reed, which grows in the swamp.

[1] i. e. Shillooks.

wooden handle. The hoer sits on the ground or squats on one knee or both, as he chooses, and catching the grass with one hand cuts it off just under the surface with the hoe. Shaking the dirt from the roots of the weeds he throws them into piles, leaving the ground clean and smooth. It is a good surface cultivation, suitable for this soil and climate, and when the season is favorable, the yield for the amount of ground tilled is very good. 241

The Indian corn grown by the Shullas is a small early variety, which is in roasting ear a fortnight before the early dura is ready for parching. But before any grain is harvested a sort of first fruits' sacrifice is made, an old man and woman go to the various fields of the village and bring in some of the ripening ears of corn and heads of dura, and place them by the sacred house of the village. Some is later taken and ground and mixed with water and plastered on the side of the sacred tukl, the rest is taken by the people and some put on the door of their own houses, and some is carefully tied up within. 243

When the dura is ready for harvesting, the heads are cut off short with a clam shell and heaped upon a rack made of poles resting upon forked posts about two feet above the ground. After drying a month it is flailed out with heavy clubs by the men and winnowed by the women and carried to the village, where it is stored in large barrel shaped bins made of coarse grass. The bottom of the large basket granary is oval, a grass band wrapped with rope is formed about the small base and resting in the forks of short stakes driven in the ground bears the weight of the filled basket and keeps it off the ground and free from ants. [237] [251]

There are very many varieties of dura. One man gave me the names of thirty-two varieties. It is probable however that the same variety has different names in different localities.

Dura is eaten in a variety of ways. The earliest heads are simply thrown on the fire and roasted. It is often merely boiled till softened and eaten so. A great deal is made into a mild beer and used as a regular food diet. The popular way of cooking it is to grind it into a fine meal and cook it into a mush and eat it with milk, or cook it up with meat. It is sometimes boiled with beans, and sesame is often eaten with it. A sort of dura bread is also made. 252

The Shulla retains all of his pastoral instincts and prizes his flocks and herds above all else. His sheep are very inferior in size and have no wool where wool ought to grow. His goats are small and few are good milk producers. His cows are also generally poor in milking qualities, but are fair in size and in beef conformation. They belong to the Indian breed of cattle, which have the hump on the withers. 233

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

283 [492] Tribal custom forbids the Shulla from riding upon a donkey, so he never possesses one. Cattle are never used for draught or carrying purposes, so he has no beasts of burden, and perhaps never will so long as women are plentiful.

231 [362] The villages are full of hunting dogs. Unlike the Nuers and most of the Dinkas the Shulla raise chickens. They are a degenerate Mediterranean strain. Eggs are eaten only by women and children.

Animal life must be well guarded and carefully housed at night most of the year. If an animal loiters on the river bank it most likely becomes the food of a crocodile. If one strays off into the woods it probably becomes the prey of a hyena, leopard or lion. Myriads of flies and numerous varieties of ticks also prey upon the flocks and herds, tormenting them by night as well as by day, and transmit the germs of various diseases also. Texas or tick fever is nearly always present, and a trypanosome not so fatal as the one of dreaded tsetse fly is also prevalent. The plague is a frequent visitor too and the mouth and foot diseases often attack the cattle toward the close of the dry season. The annual loss from all these enemies of animal life is very heavy, but as no females, unless barren, are ever killed for food or sold, and grass is plentiful, on the whole there is an increase in the number of live stock raised.

241 [797 177] As to the possibilities of agriculture in the Shulla land obstacles to be overcome have been mentioned. What the mission has done shows that many varieties of fruits and a considerable number of vegetables may be grown. Future generations may have lumber, if the right varieties of forest trees are planted. Cotton is not a sure rain crop, but with irrigation it has few enemies. Sugar-cane and rice can be grown in favorable places. The soil of this part of the Sudan is not generally deep, is deficient in nitrogen and very poor in humus. Nitrogen may be restored with legumes, but the humus problem is difficult, for the white ants devour very quickly all manure, mulch etc. spread upon the ground.

243 The Shulla in sticking to the one main crop of dura has after all adopted the grain which is naturally adapted to the soil and climate and yields best to his methods of farming.

1. Foods and food-stuffs.

262 *kwjo* a kind of dura-bread or mush.
ákíjí a food of dura.
ápíjí a food of dura.
ávíjé a food of dura (prepared after Arab fashion).
ádíjí a food of dura (prepared after Arab fashion).
ɛɲɛnɛjɔ a food of dura with fat, eaten without anything else.
wíkídíjí a common dura-food.

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yâr skin cut into small stripes or fringes, worn round the waist.
ŋwíni ear-rings of tin.
pwíŋí metal ring worn on arm, wrist, foot.
pwíe yíl ear-ring.
yíll bracelet for the wrist.
yâl knee-ring of skin.
ŋwâ brown armlet-ring, worn on the upper arm.
ŋyóŋ ivory ring
ochíŋ ivory ring.
wíŋ ivory ring carved in conical form.
cwâŋâ ivory ring, a small strip.
ónóna ivory ring, big.
orŋâ knee-bells, used in dancing.
dínon a small bell.
dínóm bell, similar to *orŋâ*.
líllíli dancing-bell
ídíl cow-bell, used in dancing.
apyap small cow-bell.
lípa, ingap a common name for beads.
amanjâr blue beads, worn by women.
rîl ostrich shell beads.
pár big beads, worn on the neck by men.
kal ŋap a kind of beads.
ŋâŋ a kind of small beads.
yíŋ green beads, round, small.
ólóŋâ-i a kind of beads.
ólapâr a kind of beads.
dín a kind of beads.
bíŋí a kind of beads.
dólimâr a kind of beads.
aŋíl a kind of beads.
dpól a kind of beads.
ólíl white beads.
ŋíŋíŋ black beads.
líp cwâŋâ blue beads.
rîr red beads.
dólwíyí yellow beads.
wéá dpíl "crow's eye", a big bead.[1]
pâpa cowry shell.
ŋíwyâŋí a string for tying together clothes.
pwá a kind of button worn in the hair.
wéwí brown giraffe-tail hairs.
ólílíri white giraffe-tail hairs.
ochíŋ tooth-brush.
dwíp a head-dress.
ólchích a head-dress.
dím a head-dress.
wât a head-dress, "like a shield".
ayíri a head-dress, "like a shield".
wagr bleached hair, long.
dólóchwíl a chain, worn as ornament.
pólólí rattle, made of leaves of the dolnib, tied on leg or loin.
ŋâŋí } arm-ring of ambach.
odíri }
wíl loin-ring.
akal pwâŋ "penis of dog" arm-bracelet of brass.
awot iron bracelet.

14. Names for cows.

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ŋwât cow; common name. Plural: *ŋâ* cattle.
wag bull.
rîŋ heifer.

[1] There are many more beads, each of which has its own name.

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ɑɑrɪ̀jɔ calf.
ɑ́ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ grey-white spotted.
ɑ́ɪ̀yɪ̀m head white, body black or yellowish.
ɑ́ɲɪ̀ɪ̀ belly and neck white, back and head black.
ɑ́ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ one leg white, the rest of the body yellowish.
ɑ́ɪ̀ɪ̀ɲɪ̀ɲ flanks white, the rest of the body black.
ɑ́ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ head yellowish, brown spots on the back, the rest white.
ɑ́ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ head black, black spots on the back, the rest white.
ɑ́ɪ̀ɪ̀ɲ flanks black, belly and back white.
ɑ́ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ́ brown-black, small spots.
ɑ́ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ brown-white, small spots.
ɑ́ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ brown-white, large spots, females only.
ɑɑɪ̀ɑɪ̀ grey.
ɑ́ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ black-white.
ɑ́ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀
ɑ́ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ɲ red-brown.
ɑ́ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ ash-coloured.
ɑ́ɲɪ̀ɲ black.
ɑ́ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ white.
ɑ́ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ striped white and red.

wɪ̀ (wɪ(ɪ) } (ox) with white feet.
ɲɪ̀ɪ̀ rɪ̀ɪ̀ }
ɑ́ɲɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ black with white tail.
ɑ́ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ hornless cow.
wɪ̀rɪ̀ɲɪ̀ɪ an ox with one horn directed forward, the second backward.
ɑ́ɪ̀yɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ a cow with ordinary, well-dressed horns.
ɑ́ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ a cow with horns turned down.
ɑ́ɲwɪ̀ɪ an ox with horns turned towards the eyes.
ɑ́ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ a cow with horns pointing forward.
ɑ́ɪ̀ɪ a cow with horns cut off.
ɑ́ɲwɪ̀ɲɪ̀ɲm a cow with horns directed straight upwards, like a goat's.
ɑ́ɪ̀ɪ a cow with one horn directed upward, the second downward.
ɑ́ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ a cow with horns directed straight sideways.
wɪ̀rɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ an ox with horns directed straight backward.
ɑ́ɪ̀ɲɪ̀ɲ a cow with horns directed straight backward.

*539 *ka ţom kḭ̄l wŋk, ka Chlọ (Chọllọ) bẓnọ bẓne bẓne, ká tẓrọ́ chḏ̣ṅọ́, ka wēni kị war, ka ẓrẓ chḏ̣ṅọ, ka rịḭ akwach:*

Ya kwache kị mátṭọ́, má kẓla ḍọga. Peń e rẓń júr, Lén-dárọ́ che dẓ wẓlọ. Yá kḭ̄tá yị mdyḭ band na Ńidwai, Akolọ, ńań Ńikāṅọ.

*539 782 796 The women come, all of them go to scratch the ground for mud, then they come and besmear th temple of the "king", they prepare the mud, and make stripes on the templ with red ashes, and with black ashes, and with white ashes, and with soot. When they have finished this drawing, then they dance. After this dura is pounded, a cow is brought, the cow is speared; they bring out the little drum o Nyikango, and all the Shilluks come, and the people dance, and when the ight comes, they continue dancing, and (while dancing) they pray to the "kin":[1]

"I beg for some lile things (food), to put into my mouth. The earth has been spoiled by the pople; Lenydaro[2] is travelling (on the earth). I go to our grandfather, the chiefof the daughter of Nyidwai, to Akolo, the children of Nyikango."

4. A Religious Ceremony.

796 The people went, th tom (the small drum belonging to Nyikang) was beaten, they danced to the to; and the people were beaten by the king;[3] it was a very strong drum. Whn it was finished, the people put the drum on the ground; then they told stories bout Nyikang. After that, the people went into the house of the women (or the laves) (of the king). The spear of Nyikang was brought out, and the people bwed their heads. A sheep was brought, it was killed; the spear of Nyikang waswashed with water; the people ran to the river bank. They beat the tom vigrously, then the people came back to dance. After that they scattered. The nt day they beat the tom again, the people came again to dance, and after four ays they dispersed.

65. How the Cattle is brought across the River.

622 789 ● 233 When the chief of a village wants to talk about the cattle, he assembles the people, and addresses them, "Ye people, the grass is finished now, what shall we do concerning the cattle?" The people reply, "Ah, that is your business!" He says, "Well, bring the wizard!" The sorcerer comes, and a goat, a spear, and a hoe are given to him. And he says, "Milk the cows!" And the cows are milked, early in the morning. Then he says, "Loosen the cattle!" They take the ambach boats, and the cows come (are tied) behind the ambach boats. The sorcerer ties grass together, and he ties it a second time on the side of the river

[1] the "king" is Nyikang or any other ancient king, to whom the temple is dedicated.
[2] "the army of Daro", perhaps a mythical allusion.
[3] that is, they turned into a state of trance, being possessed by the spirit of the deceased king.

bank. Then the milk is poured into the river, and a club is stuck into the ground in the river. The sorcerer goes into the river, and says, "Bring the cattle!" Now the ambach boats are thrown into the river, and the sorcerer lies down in the middle of the river. The cattle swim (behind the boats). The sorcerer sings a song of the crocodile; the crocodiles belong to his family (to the family, the clan of the sorcerer).

When they have arrived on the other side, an enclosure is erected, and the cows are tied to their pegs. Then another sorcerer is called, and he performs his witchery on account of thieves (to keep off thieves). The cattle are seized, a cow-house is built, and that is all, the people settle in this place, a place with grass.

66. Preparation for War.

Lén kɛ́n é chāgí, ajwɔ̄gɔ́ nɨ́ de dwâi, ká ḍ̄ɔ̀k gɔ́ɲ́, ka e bɛ̄nɔ, ka dyɛ̀k gwâch, ka tɔ́ɲ́ gwâch, ka yɛ̀ɛ̀ bɛ̄nɔ, ká àkɛ̀t kɛ̀t. Ka tɔ́ɲ́ mɛ̄n pén, ka tɔ́ɲ́ akyɛ̀l mɛ̄n pén; ka akɛ́t twóchè rɛ́. Ka yai e bɛ̄nɔ, ka kɛ̀la ṭā àkɛ́t; akɛ̀te ya màl, e twojɔ́ bwɔ́l tɔ́ɲ́. Ñànɔ̀ mák yi akɛ́t, ka nɨ́ chíp wâi, ka ñāne a nɨ́ mak nɨ́ chíp wāi. Ka jɛ̄ chāṭɔ́ kɨ́ ḍ̄ɔch. Ka tin, ka yai kɔ́fí: fɛ̄ke fén. Ka onwɔ̄k kwɔ̂ɲ́, ka tɛ́yè fén, ka yejɛ́ kâk, ka wíjɛ́ nɔ̀l, ka wài kɛ̀l wɔ̀k, ka nɨ́ lɛ̄ɲ́ kɛ̀le jɛ̀. Ka wich anwɔ̄k ka kwáɲ́ yi ajwɔ̄gɔ́, ka nɨ́ lɛ́ɲ́ fɔ̄ɲ́ ɛni ki nim yāi. U[1] yik wiche onwɔ̄k u nɛ̄nɔ kundo foɲ́ ɛni, ka yé kine: foɲ́ ɛni de chyɛ̀tɔ̀, kwɔ̄f ajwɔ̄gɔ̄. U yik wiche onwɔ̄k u nɛ̄nó kun adi lén, ye kine: leɲ́ rach! Ka ajwɔ̄gɔ̄ e ṭɛ̀ḍ̄ɔ̀ kɛ̀tɛ́, ka yech kɛ̀l, ka kɔ̂t, ka mɛ̄kɔ chíki kɔ̂tɔ̀, ka ajwɔ̄gɔ̄ kɛḍ̄ɔ, ka onwɔ́ɲ́ mɛ̄kɔ kɛ̀l, ka nɛ̀k, ka wíjɛ́ chíki (chɛ̀ki) wɛ̀tɔ̀, ká lɛ̀t yi ajwɔ́ɲ́ ɛni, ka e ko: ḍ̄ɔch! Dwai ṭɛ̄rɔ bɛ̄nɔ! Ka ṭɛ̄rɔ bɛ̄nɔ. Ka wāi kwɔ̂ɲ́é, ka gɔ̀ ɛ̀ɲ́é rɛ́ ṭɛ̄rɔ̀. Ka e kɛḍ̄ɔ. Ka wich onywɔ̄k ka u kwɔ̂ɲ́í feɲ́. Ka pi ṭɔ̄ɲ́, ká gɔ̀ ɛ̀ɲ́é rɛ ṭɛ̄rɔ.

When a hostile army comes near, the sorcerer is sent for, and cows are loosened (are given to him), and when he comes, goats and spears are collected (and given him). Then the people come; a rope is made, and a spear is stuck into the ground; the rope is fastened to its top; now the people come and pass below the rope. The rope is above, it is tied to the point of the spear. The man who is touched by the rope (in passing below it), is placed separately. (All these do not go into the war, because they would be killed). Thus the people walk (below the rope) a long time, till all have passed. Presently the sorcerer says to the people, "Sit down!" A he-goat is brought, and is thrown on the ground. It is cut up, and its head is cut off; the contents of its stomach are taken out, and are thrown among the people; the head of the he-goat is taken by the sorcerer, and thrown towards the hostile country, in the face of the assembled people. If the head of the he-goat points in the direction of the country of the

[1] M.

8:Howell E-4,5 .(1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

localized lineage within one settlement is certainly exogamous and there is also a bar to marriage into the maternal lineage. The clan, widely distributed in minor branches throughout Shilluk country, does not function as a corporate unit except at times of national festivals and then only in the sphere of ceremonial and ritual.

Marriage and Marriage Laws

As with the Nuer and Dinka, marriage among the Shilluk is achieved by the performance of recognized social procedures and the payment of bridewealth in the form of cattle, sheep, and goats. Nowadays, cash may be paid in addition to or in lieu of cattle, but not frequently and not in large sums.[1] It must be emphasized from the start that the Shilluk do not possess anything like the number of cattle owned by the Nuer and Dinka,[2] and for this reason alone the number of beasts paid as bridewealth is lower. Among the Nuer and Dinka the average ranges from fifteen to forty head of cattle according to the prevailing condition of the herds. Among the Shilluk the number is fixed at ten head, and although there have been times when few Shilluk were able to pay this number, it has been retained rigidly for several generations despite attempts by the Administration to reduce it. With sheep and goats, which are paid in addition but do not have the same significance, there is no such rigidity. The number of these seems to vary according to the attractions of the bride, though prevailing economic conditions doubtless play their part.

There is much to be found on the subject of marriage in the writings of Hofmayr, Westermann, and Seligman,[3] though many statements are misleading. This summary account of Shilluk marriage laws is based largely on the writings, both published and unpublished, of M. E. C. Pumphrey[4] who not only took into account previous literature but, as an administrator in Shilluk country for several years, had better opportunities to investigate the legal aspect of the subject. These are supplemented by my own direct observations.[5]

The Social Processes and Legality of Marriage

Pumphrey says:

> The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive barrier (such as known consanguinity between the parties . . .) and secondly there must be an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised by the man offering the woman's *gol*[6] a sheep (*dyel dhok*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete.[7]

This transaction, which is limited to the immediate family of the parties to the marriage, is followed by *tieng mogho* (the brewing of beer) and a wedding dance (*mogho thiek*) to which many persons are invited and which therefore serves to make the union widely known. It is not, however, strictly correct to say that the marriage is,

[1] The tendency to use cash in lieu of cattle is apparently increasing.

[2] Ratio of human to cattle population: Shilluk 1:0·85; Nuer 1:2·3 (highest recorded).

[3] See Bibliography of the Shilluk, given in a previous article (*Africa*, xxii. 2).

[4] Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *J.N.R.*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[5] Based on field work carried out in 1937 and on an investigation and analysis of the marriages of one Shilluk lineage carried out in 1948. The results are to be published later.

[6] Family group and legal guardians.

[7] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 23.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

year round and only the youths go to the cattle camps in the riverain pastures, which are never more than a few miles from their villages. The Shilluk are not a pastoral people in the sense that the Nuer and Dinka are, and rely to a much greater extent on agricultural products and on fish, for they are skilled and experienced fishermen. Since their migration to their present territory, it is probable that they have never had a very large cattle population, for their riverain pasture is not extensive.[1]

Shilluk clans[2] are not territorial in basis for they are highly segmented and widely distributed throughout the settlements of Shilluk country; as corporate units they have no real significance except at times of national festivals, and then only in the sphere of ritual and ceremony.

The Shilluk are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

(i) The *kwareth*: the royal house, who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom the *reth* of the Shilluk is chosen.

(ii) The *ororo*: a disinherited branch of the royal house who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions they perform at the installation of the *reth*, during his lifetime, and at his death. They are a distinct exogamous clan, though they may intermarry with the *kwareth* despite common ancestry.

(iii) The *collo*: the name refers collectively to the main body of the Shilluk clans of which a large number trace descent patrilineally from (*a*) the original followers of Nyikang, (*b*) individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards, and (*c*) ancestors who are lost in antiquity, but who may have occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang.

(iv) The *bang reth*: the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of past *reths*; the descendants of royal slaves obtained by capture; those who volunteer to serve him by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang,[3] and paupers who volunteer for this form of service in order to exist at all. Finally, there are the alleged descendants of those who were enslaved because their close kinsmen committed homicide, though this statement must be examined more critically later.

There are no real caste distinctions between *kwareth*, *ororo*, *collo*, and *bang reth* and, apart from restrictions on the marriages of daughters of a living or past *reth*, they intermarry freely. The *kwareth*, however, by reason of their connexion with Nyikang and subsequent *reths*, are treated with special respect and this extends to those *bang reth* who have close association with the shrines of Nyikang or of dead kings. The Shilluk basic social structure is very similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka, though there are important differences. The segmentation of the population into territorial units and of the clans into localized lineages has, however, a greater permanency and stability. The distinctive feature of the Shilluk political structure is the existence of an established and theoretically omnipotent monarchy and it is in the political sphere

[1] An accurate census taken during the veterinary campaign against trypanosomiasis gives a figure of 85,000. This was after a very severe epidemic in 1946 and it may be assumed that they had lost at least 30 per cent. of their stock. A human census, accurate at any rate within 15 per cent., gives a population figure of 110,000. The ratio of human population to cattle population is therefore between 1:0·3 and 1:0·25. *Cf.* Nuer where highest ratio given is 1:2·3 and the lowest 1:1·2.

[2] *kwo*: Literally 'descendants of', prefixing the name of the clan. '*kwo* Okelo'—the descendants of Okelo—and so on.

[3] Often now attendants at the many shrines of Nyikang.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

754 The possessed is conscious of the fact that he has the power and may even mention the fact. The power is made operative by looking fixedly at the person to be made the victim. The person exercising the power is usually in anger when the deed is done. The person who is bewitched says the eye went into me, and if the person who did the deed speaks of it, he will usually say that his eye went into the person.

The evil eye does not always take effect in the same part of the body. If the curse falls on the eye, the person will have sore eyes terminating in blindness. They recognize three causes of blindness, other than accidents. [753] Blindness may follow the small pox, or measles, or else it is the result of the evil eye. When the evil eye strikes the ear, deafness is the result, and when it is on the head, sores and swellings appear on the head. When the body is affected, it is covered with sores. The intestines or the liver may be the part afflicted, and they swell to unnatural size, and the worst part about it is that the swelling is permanent. One young man, who was a very fine looking child, was afflicted thus, and ever since he has been out of proportion. The doctors called it enlargement of the spleen. A man who is a very swift runner may have the evil eye take effect in his feet, and in that case the feet swell, and the victim has trouble in walking. The curse may fall on the teeth, and they decay. The evil eye may strike the unborn babe, and it disappears. The most dangerous place to have the evil eye take effect is in the heart, and in case it does the victim can not live through the day.

The evil eye is not confined to the body, but it may also affect the domestic animals belonging to a person. When a person drinks the milk of a cow that has been touched by the evil eye, it causes his insides to swell. A [233] very fine appearing cow is not permitted to go into the village by herself but is kept with the herd, and she is to be kept in the middle of the herd so that she may not be seen, and the curse come on her. A very fine calf is always kept hidden. Sheep may become the victims of the evil eye.

The power extends beyond animate things to the inanimate. A blacksmith may make a very fine bracelet, and it breaks as he is putting it on the wrist of the owner. The bracelet was bewitched by the evil eye. When a very fine spear breaks when it is being polished just after it is made, it is because of the evil eye.

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928) 1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF AN IDLE SHILLUK.

By Captain G. P. Cann.

WHILE passing through the river ports of the Central District of the Upper Nile Province a casual observer is prone to comment on the apparent idleness of the Shilluk, as if it was the normal state of the tribe; and although such a traveller is probably within his rights in drawing this conclusion from the abnormal conditions under which he meets the Shilluk in river ports—for the native of the Southern Districts of the Sudan has certainly achieved a high standard in the art of doing nothing when on holiday—he is desired to remember that the Shilluk seen on the river bank on the arrival of a steamer is keenly interested (and even amused) in all the strange sights that meet his eye: the steamer itself with its tiers of decks with the Rais and sailors on the roof, the motley collection of humanity on the barges, and by no means least the *buing* or foreigner with his hated camera and amazing dress and incredible customs.

Can one wonder, then, that the Shilluk is prepared to stand for hours and simply gaze on such interesting sights?

The writer is 'on trek' at the moment, and is so struck by the strong relief afforded by village life that he has fallen to the use of the pen in vindication of the libelled Shilluk.

[illegible] fires amongst the cattle have been kept up assiduously throughout the night, and already shadowy forms are passing amongst the herds and moving a beast where necessary to get more benefit from the smoke.

Dawn approaches and the herds are becoming restless, so every man turns to to release them, and four or five youths drive the cattle away some two or three miles inland, where flies are known to be less troublesome, and a first feed of dry grass is available to start the day.

Almost immediately hosts of small boys appear on the scene, the smaller ones—from seven to ten years of age—to bring out the goats and sheep from the *luak* in which they have passed the night, safe from

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928)1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

233 512 857 the depredations of hyænas, and the boys of from ten to fifteen years to clear up the standings of the cattle, collect the head ropes, and clean out the *luaks*.

By the time the boys have finished their duties the cattle are brought back to the village for milking, and the small boys leave with their herds of sheep and goats for pasture and are not seen again until nearly sunset.

[556] Milking is accompanied by much grooming and cleaning of the cattle, and is one of the proudest hours of the Shilluk's life when he handles his beasts in view of the world.

233 512 883 At about 10.30 a.m. the cattle are driven to their damp pasture accompanied by an escort of fighting youths who are responsible for protection against wild beasts, reptiles and predatory human beings.

[226] Cattle and sheep herding by day is the work of youths and boys, and is full-time employment from dawn to dusk—varied by a certain amount of fish-spearing as a recreation—so we will leave them to their duties and turn to the older men to see to what extent the stigma of laziness applies to them.

241 462 512 At the time of writing the first rains have fallen, so every able-bodied man who is not engaged in cattle herding leaves for his cultivation area—which is generally at least three miles inland from the village—before dawn; this early start becomes of vital importance when the [361] dura is first sown, as the guinea-fowl descend from the trees at dawn to consume the seed sown on the previous day, and the cultivator is thus unable to leave his plot until after dusk, when these fowl have gone to roost.

462 512 Women bring food and water to the cultivator twice a day besides carrying out their ordinary household duties which we will now survey.

[361] Shilluk villages for freedom from mosquitoes and other reasons are usually situated from one to three miles away from the Nile, and before 512 dawn one or two women or girls from each house have to go to the river [415] to fill all their available earthen pots and gourds with water for the use 482 of the house before the men go away to work; the ordinary earthen vessel or *pak* when full weighs between thirty and forty pounds, and two or even three trips have to be made to the river daily to supply the needs of the home, so water carrying can only be done by the stronger women and girls.

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Houses are swept out soon after dawn by older women and small girls, and they are responsible for the collection of firewood for cooking purposes.

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Very soon after the return of the water-carrying party the sound of dura pounding is heard on all sides, and this work and the preparation of native beer for the household goes on intermittently all day: the meal times for men being about 10 a.m. and 7 p.m., while the women snatch meals at odd hours.

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At the time of writing every spare moment of the day is spent by the women in sowing the dura and maize crop around the village, the work proceeding steadily from dawn to dusk.

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Even after dark the women have to finish the preparation and serve the evening meal to their men, and, as this is the main meal of the day, woe betide the wife who has not prepared it in time or to the satisfaction of her lord!

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At about 5.30 p.m. the small boys return with the goats and sheep, and these—after having been re-united with their offspring—are turned into the *luaks* for the night.

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Then smoke fires are lighted in readiness for the cattle which are herded in at dusk, tied up with head ropes, and milked; these duties keep nearly all the men busy until after 7 p.m., soon after which the cultivators return from their labours.

Rather than call the Shilluk a lazy race, let us say that they understand the art of taking their ease restfully!

INSTALLATION OF A NEW SHILLUK KING

[The following account, by a Shilluk pupil at Rumbek Secondary School, originally appeared in the *Rumbek Magazine* for 1954, and is reprinted with the permission of the Ministry of Education. It is, so far as is known, the first written account of the ceremony by a member of the Shilluk people. The article has been read by Dr. P. P. Howell, who considered it to be of sufficient interest to warrant publication in *Sudan Notes and Records*.]

When the Reth of the Shilluk dies, all the senior chiefs of the thirteen divisions of the country are summoned to Fashoda, the chief reigning village (pun duong), by the District Commissioner and the Head Chief of Fashoda Division, to attend the election of the new Reth.

The new Reth is not to be elected from among the late Reth's sons, but from another branch of the Royal Family. In the election the elder son of a Reth and a left-handed Prince cannot be elected, according to traditional custom. A woman has no claim to the Rethship. It happened once in the past that there was one Queen called Abudhiak who reigned in Fashoda, but from thenceforward no woman has held the Rethship.

As soon as the Nyireth (Prince) is elected Reth he is taken to Fashoda, where he remains quietly until the late Reth's wuowo (mourning dance) has been held. After this, the installation of the new Reth, or the coronation ceremony, follows. Before the coronation the people of Padhiang, north-west of Fashoda, are sent to the Nuba mountains to fetch some holy bamboos which are used in the coronation, and the blacksmiths of Golbunyo at the northern side of Fashoda, and those of Nyimkango and Reth in the south, are busy making the coronation spears. First comers from among the Nyikango's army (Kwanydwom) pass to Obuy in the southern part of the country to bring some palm leaves for making whips with which they beat people during the coronation. In Debalo Kwom there are some people carving stories. The performers of the coronation fix some branches of thorn trees in front of their villages on the roads, being authorized by tradition to stop any man passing along that road without his giving an offering to them. The people of Tonga paddle far south in their canoes to Lake No to fetch the ambutch (dwoni Nyikango).

After the accomplishment of all these things, the Reth is taken to Debalo Kwom south of Fashoda, a village where the coronation seat is kept. In Debalo there is a little herd of cattle from Pathow which the Reth looks after, and he is treated roughly like a small boy by the head chief of Debalo, before he takes his position as Reth. Nobody is allowed to go among these cows or to take any fire from among them. Any unfortunate fellow going near them is seized by Kwa Nyath and made to give something. These cows go together with the Reth to Fashoda where he looks after them again.

In this installation there are two rival armies, the army of the Reth and the army of Nyikango. Nyikango's army brings the images of Nyikango and Dak his son from Akurwa, a village in the northern part of the country. Without the power of Nyikango and Dak the new king cannot be crowned. When the party leaves Akurwa they have four resting places before they reach Fashoda. In the last, Adot Nyigir, two miles from Fashoda, they await the arrival of the Reth's army from Debalo.

[1] Nyikango was the founder of the Shilluk Kingdom. At his death he is said not to have been buried but to have disappeared in the sky.

25: Anonymous 1-5 (no date) 1956 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 When the Reth's army begins to move out to meet Nyikango's, all the people of Debaio run away clapping the handles of their spears, meaning that the Reth will never return to Debaio until he dies. As he goes out a bull is laid down on his path, whereupon he walks over it in front of the procession, pulling another bull by the tail. The latter is covered with white cloths and is meant to reach Fashoda, being dragged in this manner—Fashoda is about two and a half miles from Debaio. The spear from the shrine at Bol and another from Lul are also brought for the coronation ceremony.

Now scouts are sent to see if Nyikango's army is approaching and to report the news back to the Reth. In the Reth's army the people carry some darts unlike open-running spears with which they fight with the army of Nyikango by throwing them. The members of Nyikango's army carry long thongs of twisted grass which they use as whips to disperse the Reth's army, so that they will know the Reth in their hands to be taken by the spirit of Nyikango. The whips are filled with the spirit and the people are frightened by them, as being touched by the whip is enough to produce madness unless gifts are offered to Nyikango's people. Princes are not allowed to go near the Reth during the procession, because if the Reth is killed by any of them during the coronation procession from Debaio to Fashoda the coronation is not postponed, but the people at once raise a nearby Prince, or the prince who killed him, to replace the slain Nyireth—he is not yet Reth, as he has not been possessed by the spirit of Nyikango—and the coronation continues. Because of this danger during the procession the Reth has to be protected by his policemen and the senior chiefs, who keep the ordinary people away from him.

According to the custom, when the Reth's army reaches the dry khor called Arebaiier near Fashoda, which is the boundary between the two parties, a black bull is laid down. The Reth boldly walks over the bull and across to the other side to meet the party of Nyikango. As soon as they come near each other the two armies begin to fight, throwing darts wildly at each other. At this moment the Reth is seized from his army by the people of Nyikango and clothed with the spirit of Nyikango. Here Nyikango's army are busy sending people away with their whips so as to leave the Reth with the group of performers of the ceremony. After this he is taken to a round cleared place and circumcised four times there before entering Fashoda. As this is done he is escorted to Fashoda by two lady maidens with the image of Nyikango on his shoulder. These two maidens are taken from the performers of the ceremonies and later become wives to the new Reth.

In Fashoda he is taken in front of the Nyikango's shrine and placed on a silver ceremonial seat covered with white cloths, and the image of Nyikango and Dak are held over him in order that he might be possessed of their powers. With him are his sub-chief and the chief of Kwanyiyerk holding the legs of the Reth as he is sitting on the seat. He remains in an open place for some time, with the group holding some white cloths as a shelter around him. Meanwhile Nyikango's army beat their drums and sing Nyikango's songs. Here the Reth is said to be shaken by the power of Nyikango as he is being possessed by him.

643 After the performance of this, the Reth and his sub-chief are taken to one of the roughly-made huts near Nyikango's shrine, where they stay for two days, with the Reth keeping the little herd of Nyikango's cattle which was brought from Debaio. This kind of action is done so as to obtain good fortune in the future during his kingship. Here he is treated as he was in Debaio, being made to do the work of a small boy, making fires for these cows and cleaning their place. This work is done

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at about four o'clock in the morning, when nobody will see him at his work but the chief only, who tells him what to do.

During these days Nyikango's army remain with the other people dancing and beating their drums, playing with the images of Nyikango and Dak outside or in front of the shrine. At the end of two days the Reth is taken to four high temples (Akurwic) on a mound, and stays in them for another two days. Nyikango's army continue beating their drums night and day, so the people from afar are attracted by them, and they come to join the dancing. At the end of this time all the senior and ordinary chiefs gather together in Fashoda at a final advisory council (Loko), where the Reth is given the right to take up the post of king. The senior chiefs make speeches giving him advice to perform his professional task justly, and after the speech of the best orator the drum is beaten as a sign of praise. At the close of the speeches he is given two silver bracelets which are put around his wrists, as a sign of his office. These bracelets represent the crown and remain with him during his reign. After this he is invested with his holy office, which cannot be taken away from him or be abdicated until he dies.

After the coronation Nyikango and his carriers remain in Fashoda for two months pending the first fall of the rains. As the first rain of the autumn appears, the party begins to leave Fashoda for Akurwa, where Nyikango's and Dak's images are kept until the coronation of another Reth.

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enclosure surrounded by a reed fence which overlaps on the side facing the central space, leaving a narrow entrance about two feet long. This is so narrow that one has to turn sideways to get through it. The narrowness of this passage and the smallness of the doorway of each house are a means of defence against possible aggressors. No intruder could rush into the small compound and take those inside by surprise. As an additional protection the passage is blocked at night with thorn branches, which serve the purpose of a barbed-wire entanglement. 351

A chief or a nyireth may have three or four huts in his enclosure. The huts are made with walls of well-puddled cotton-soil mud about five feet in height, surmounted by a high conical thatched roof. The floor is often a little below ground level with a semi-circular step sometimes decorated with an inset pattern of mother-of-pearl, coloured glass, or fragments of pottery at the threshold. One of the two huts is used as the living and sleeping room, the other for cooking and the storing of the grain supply. The fence which encloses the homestead is about eight feet high and is constructed of millet stalks closely fastened together; it is set close to the walls of the houses. On the outside it is strengthened by cross-ties of stalks bound together, and the number of these cross-ties is regulated by strict custom: an ordinary Colo may have three or four, a chief or prince up to six, and only the fences around the king's enclosure have eight. 342 [565] [581] [343] 351 [565]

The largest building in the village is the communal cattle byre which is built like an ordinary hut, but about thirty feet in diameter. The high pitched roof, because of its great span, is very heavy and has to be supported by strong branches of trees based solidly on the floor and wedged tightly against the slope of the roof. In an open space near the byre thirty or forty stakes are driven into the ground, standing perhaps a foot above it; at first sight these might give one the impression that the villagers indulge in the simple pleasure of a game of quoits in the cool of the evening when the day's work is done, but they are for the much 343 [233]

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more practical purpose of tethering the cattle as towards sunset they come winding back from the pasture. In the hot months, if there is no danger from lions, they are left all night in the open and the byre is used as a dormitory by the boys and unmarried men of the village. It is the custom, too, for the unmarried girls to sleep together in vacant huts in the village, for the sleeping hut of a household is reserved for the householder and his wife and small children.

The rear part of the store hut is taken up by an enormous circular grain basket, four feet high and the same in diameter, standing clear of the floor on a wooden, three-legged stand and safe from the depredations of white ants. Whenever possible, cooking is done outside, but during the rains it is done over a fire of sticks or millet stalks burning in a hollow scooped out in the floor near the wall. A variety of pots clutters the floor space: the large earthenware water pot, an earthenware pot and a shallow iron dish for cooking, small beer pots, a number of drinking bowls made from the tough rinds of gourds neatly halved and dried in the sun. The roofing poles, resting on the mud walls and rising to an apex, form convenient places for tucking away household goods and personal treasures. Such an item one cannot fail to notice is that of several large heads of grain; these are stored for the next season's planting, and no matter how desperate the food situation may become, they will remain untouched, for the next year's supply of food depends on this stock of seed. Behind the poles also may be found a fragment of a mirror, a couple of cigarette tins holding a little oil or a handful of beads, a girl's blue dancing cloth or even the good wife's best Sunday frock, run up for her by the Sisters from some material brought from Kodok, probably some dreadful riot of green and red and yellow, hideous indeed to Western eyes, but to the proud owner more delightful than any Paris creation. Sometimes, to a visitor's distress, a line is slung across the hut on which hang dried fish or strips of meat. The high tone of these delicacies, the myriads of flies they attract and the thick, black smoke of the fire which, having no means of getting away, fills the hut, do not make

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like bellows, and then passes it on. Pipe and beer circulate freely, and under the mellowing influence of both, tongues are quickly loosened and conversation turns to the perennial topic of cattle. After a while, your cigarette finished, you will excuse yourself to your host and, rising from your cramped position, greet everyone present in turn and make your escape into the open air.

The Shilluk, sensible man, starts his day with the sun. He emerges from his hut, however, with heavy head and blood-shot eyes, since he has been sleeping for seven or eight hours in a small windowless hut with the doorway blocked with a heavy grass mat and perhaps a smoky fire burning as a protection against mosquitoes. As a further defence against these pests he covers himself from head to foot with the red ashes from the cow-dung fire, but this does not worry him; if there is water handy he may rinse his hands and face, if not, he will remain as he is until his next visit to the river —perhaps today, perhaps tomorrow or the next day—gives him the chance of taking a bath.

Gradually the village comes to life: the women appear, winding their drab-looking cloths round them, and set off on their daily pilgrimage to the river with the heavy water pots balanced on their heads. The little group breaks up and the women fall into line, one behind the other, as they reach the narrow track leading out of the village, chattering like starlings as they swing along. The boys come out of the byre smothered like their elders in the red ashes in which they have been lying all night, looking like imps from the lower regions. They begin to clean up round the tethered cattle, collecting the cow dung and spreading it out to dry in the sun for fuel. When this is done they milk the cows and goats. From one compound comes the sound of dull thumping as some girl pounds the millet grain into coarse flour. The grain is small and hard, red or white in colour. It is first winnowed by being poured at shoulder height from a basket and then sieved in a boat-shaped scoop of plaited fibre. The grain is then put into a

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narrow circular hole in the ground about a foot deep, and steadily pounded with a heavy, six-foot pole wielded with all the strength a young pair of arms and shoulders can bring to the task. The coarse flour which results from this operation is soaked in water and then ground again, this time between two hard, rough stones. The flour is ready for use; it is mixed with water and boiled in a shallow iron dish to make a thick porridge, and this, flavoured with a little salt if that is available, and mixed with a little milk, constitutes the meal. Young women, however, are denied the luxury of milk, unless they are nursing a baby.

By the time the women have returned from the river, ground the flour and cooked the porridge, it is already nine o'clock. If it is the dry season and there is no work to be done in the fields, the men have been sitting around since sunrise, busy perhaps with some task such as making a grass rope or weaving a fish trap, or merely gossiping away the time until their food is ready. When a woman has cooked her husband's breakfast she takes it into the living hut, and then leaves while he eats. She never eats with him, though she may return later, before he has finished, and eat her own meal sitting apart; she may also join other women and eat with them. When breakfast is over the men resume their tasks, and if there is a nice part of the river bank shaded with trees, such as is to be found at Detwok, they will take their rope making and weaving materials or their fishing net and pass the day there pleasantly enough. The young boys untether the bleating sheep and goats which pour out of the village running in search of grass and water, followed by their herds who add to the din by yelling and whistling; the cattle follow at a more leisurely pace in charge of the older boys. Soon the village is empty of animals save for the mangy, half-starved dogs nosing about for scraps of food, and the scraggy chickens picking up grains of millet scattered here and there in the compound. The little girls appear, staggering under the weight of the fat babies they carry on their hips. The women and the older girls go about the never-ending household tasks, cleaning up after their untidy menfolk,